1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the father was perhaps more angry with the child for causing him to lose face than for taking the fruit—something which children frequently do.

Ordinarily, when discipline is called for, the parents threaten their children. Such threats are based on things the children have had experience with, as for example, "If you are not good I will sell you out [to another family]." This is done since "children know it is a terrible thing to be sold out." The villagers point out that they never threaten children by saying, "the demons will take you away," for such warnings lack the reality necessary to intimidate the child.

Respect for elders is mainly taught by the example set by parents and older siblings. Children are frequently told stories which focus on acts of filial piety and are also warned of the tortures that await the unfilial in the underworld. This makes a great impression on most children. Such training is reinforced by the funerals which the children attend, both in their own village and in the villages of their *ch'in ch'i*. On these occasions the tortures of the underworld and the favorable and unfavorable kinds of rebirth after death are emphasized.

In general, however, children have a great deal of freedom of action, and to a large degree they get their own way with their parents or are at least made to believe they do. Village adults often find it difficult to refuse the requests of their children, and rather than say no, will commonly *p'ien* (fool) their young child. For example, a parent will convince the child that the unpleasant task to be done or medicine to be taken is really something quite special, a treat or a privilege.

EDUCATION

Primary education in Taiwan is now "compulsory." Schools operated by the provincial government are open to all children. There is a small percentage of village children who for various reasons do not go at all and a larger group who attend sporadically. There are several schools scattered throughout each *hsiang*, and each is attended by the children of a few villages. The children from Hsin Hsing along with the children from seven other villages in Pu Yen Hsiang attend a school in Hao Hsiu village, about two miles down the road from Hsin Hsing. While most of the students walk to and from the school each day, some bicycle and a few occasionally go by bus. The school enrollment for 1958 was 1,293, including 666 boys and 627 girls. Of this total enrollment, 88 students were from Hsin Hsing—39 boys and 49 girls.

Officially, children must attend school from the ages of six to twelve, but there are many students at the Hao Hsiu primary school who are as old as fourteen and fifteen. The latter are usually students who had

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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764 793 522 off-key to add to the comedy. Usually, during the last part of the ceremony, when the forgiveness governor chases the horse at full speed, all the children present applaud and scream with glee. The adults laugh and say "it is all right for the children to do this, since it is so exciting."

764 After the forgiveness letter has been delivered, final preparations are made to simulate the trip of the spirit to the underworld and finally to the Western Paradise. A check is written and signed with the names of [618] relatives and friends, and this, along with millions of dollars of imitation paper money, is burned by the nearest *tsu* relatives, usually members of the immediate family, in the ancestral-worship room. Throughout the ceremony, the room is guarded by two male lineal descendants or close patrilineal relatives of the deceased. They stand covering the door with a straw mat and each holds a large knife in his upraised hand. The purpose of their vigil is to prevent the spirits of any other dead persons, especially if not of the same descent line, or any of 764 various demons, from stealing the money. The ashes of the burned 793 paper money are wrapped up and weighed by a *tao shih* on a standard 804 wooden balance scale as proof to the gods of the large quantity of [522] money offered them. The *tao shih* also pretends to add up the amount of money by using an abacus. Many villagers watch these proceedings with great delight since the *tao shih* clowns about while doing them. The ashes, with a number of other items, are later placed in the coffin and buried with the deceased.

775 With the offering of the money to the gods, the spirit of the dead 764 begins its journey to the underworld and, it is hoped, its eventual 536 journey to the Western Paradise. The ceremony is only a simulation of 793 the trip, and the villagers explain that it is hoped the rite "will have the effect of later easing the spirit's actual trip by showing it the way." A *tao shih* and all descendants of the deceased who are present make the journey, carrying a white banner which represents the spirit of the deceased, an incense pot, the paper ancestral tablet, paper servants, and a paper puppet of the dead person. The group walks in a circle, [867] crossing an imitation bridge over and over again, and as they walk the *tao shih* tells the people of the "ten acts"—how children should act; how daughters-in-law should act; how servants should act; how neighbors should act toward one another; how brothers should act; how wives should act; and so on.

When the underworld has been reached, two *tao shih* and all the mourners and many village adults and children gather in the ancestral-worship room. The *tao shih* act out long dialogues and stories which [538] tell about the trip and the many people, obstacles, and underworld [867] gods which the spirit has encountered along the way. Many of the incidents related are steeped in moral precepts, but they are also humorous and often exciting.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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That these stories, as well as the entire funeral ritual, serve several purposes is recognized by the *tao shih* and many of the villagers. First, the stories tend to stress the importance of filial piety and morality. They teach the villagers that "Parents should love but not spoil their children, because a spoiled child becomes stupid"; "Since the parents take care of the child—the parents feed, school, and find a husband or wife for the child—the child should therefore be filial"; "People must marry, since the parents have given us our bodies and we must give the parents another body—a descendant"; "If you are unfilial to your parents, then your son will be unfilial to you, and besides that you will be punished in the underworld." Some stories emphasize the necessity for cooperation between brothers to hold the family together. These stories draw attention to the importance of filial piety, but their moral precepts are presented in such a way as to poke fun at those present whose behavior has in any way been known to be unfilial. The barbed humor is frequently directed at daughters-in-law who do not sufficiently respect their husbands' families, for example, and who therefore talk too much and so neglect their household duties and family responsibilities.

The second recognized purpose of these rituals is to provide a release for the mourners' grief. The emotional intensity of bereavement is moderated by the humorous stories told by the *tao shih*, as well as by the excitement sometimes created by the ceremonies. One *tao shih*, who also operates a small tailoring shop in Lukang, explained, "I don't really believe that the things we do in these funeral rituals actually do anything for the spirit of the dead person. But since the villagers believe in it and want it done, and will pay for the performance of such rituals, I come and do it. It makes them feel better and besides, when we perform all these exciting ceremonies and tell the funny stories, it makes them laugh and helps them forget their sadness." The extent to which the *tao shih's* opinion is valid is seen again and again during the course of the evening's events, as well as during the performance of the juggler. Often, even the most sincerely grief-stricken are unable to refrain from smiling at some of the stories and comical situations. Some stories are so filled with slapstick comedy that they bring almost hysterical laughter from the mourners.

On the trip to the underworld, the spirit of the deceased is judged. A favorable decision is inevitably reached, and the spirit is given permission to go to the Western Paradise. Once again the participating group goes outside, this time to complete the ritual with the journey to the Western Paradise. A paper sedan chair is set on the ground and an incense pot placed next to it. Then a paper puppet of the deceased, paper servants, and paper money are burned while the mourners wail.

It is nearly dawn when all of this is completed, and afterwards everyone present eats a large breakfast prepared by the village men,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the ancestors are all considered both important and fundamental to correct behavior. Aptly expressing a rather general feeling, one villager said, "Everyone knows it's natural to act this way. What other way is there to act?"

The development of this attitude is promoted chiefly by examples in everyday life which are a part of a child's general upbringing. Children are frequently told stories which emphasize the rewards of filial and virtuous behavior. The scrolls displayed and the stories told by the *tao shih* during funerals (see Chapter 7) contribute greatly to the indoctrination. In addition, the use of formal kinship terminology constantly reminds children of the importance of proper behavior towards their superiors or elders. Terms of respect (utilizing kinship terminology) which take into account the relative age and generation of all relatives and even friends and neighbors are learned early and indicate the way one person is expected to act toward another.

Children and adults are also constantly reminded of the "moral way" by door hangings whose elaborate calligraphy exhorts them to proper behavior as well as wishing them good fortune. While most villagers cannot actually read the characters, they know what they mean. These scrolls are usually purchased in Lukang; nowadays many of them bear anti-Communist, nationalistic slogans which mean little to most of the villagers who buy them.

The schools consistently emphasize many of the basic traditional moral values. Textbooks present stories about acts of filial piety or respect for elders and those in authority and emphasize the value of reasonableness, compromise, and cooperation, and, of course, patriotism and even extreme nationalism. In addition, special topics or themes are stressed during certain weeks. For example, the schools observe "filial piety week," during which they stress obedience and respect for age, teachers, and parents. Other weeks are devoted to the importance of love and charity, respect for country, and the national flag. Thus, we find the moral and ethical teachings of Confucianism constantly reaffirmed in everyday life.

Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, which is closely related to Confucianism and the mystique of filial piety, and whose rituals actually reinforce it, is a form of religious belief to which virtually all Hsin Hsing area villagers adhere. The believers are not, however, in agreement about the effect ancestors have on the lives of their descendants. Many in Hsin Hsing do not agree that ancestors provide positive aid to their descendants, but few would deny the misfortunes that are sure to fall if neglected ancestors vengefully fail to protect their unfilial descendants from the many negative spirits.

Since ancestral spirits live in the other world much as they did in

*121 182 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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their wives under the same roof, sharing, under the supervision of the eldest male of the eldest generation, their labor and their wealth. This ideal is occasionally achieved by the wealthy, but among the poor, two married brothers rarely maintain a joint household after the death of their father. The wife of one is too sure that the wife of the other feeds her children more when it is her turn to cook, or that she shirks her share of the housework. While the brothers' mother is still living and active, she can control or at least mediate disputes in the kitchen, but the loser of any dispute is sure to whisper to her husband about the favoritism his parents are showing to the other brother's children. The relationship between brothers is often not sturdy enough to withstand the constant harrassment of their wives. As boys, the elder was required to yield to the younger in all things. If they quarreled, their parents punished the elder, regardless of who was in the right, since he was supposed "to know better." Yet as adults, their roles are reversed. The elder brother makes the decisions and the younger is expected to acquiesce. As often as not, the younger brother, quite unused to submission, finds this situation unbearable. As long as their father is alive, the decisions about managing the family property may be issued in his name, coating the younger brother's pill and delaying an open rupture. Often this is not enough and shortly after the younger's marriage, the brothers divide the family property, from then on retaining their earnings for the use of their own small families.

In most cases the two families created by the division remain under the same roof, but a strategic door is nailed shut to separate the two apartments, or a bamboo fence appears across the courtyard. They continue to use the guest hall equally, but its neatness and elegance decline noticeably if there is not a mother-in-law present to bully the young wives into greater attention. The most dramatic change occurs in the kitchen. If the guest hall can be considered the symbol of the larger family, the stove is the symbol of the living family. Members of a family are defined as those who share a cooking stove; the colloquial term for the act of family division is literally "the dividing of the stove." This identification of stove and family is so important that those who cannot afford to add a room to house the stove of a newly created family unit build a second stove in the same kitchen.

Over half of the houses in Peihotien have one of the intended wings and some have both. For all but two families, only the external

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Lim Han-ci's funeral was the biggest ever seen in Peihotien and his daughter-in-law claims it was one of the most expensive in the whole district. The coffin alone cost NT$3,000 and the family spent another NT$1,000 to hire musicians. Taoist priests were summoned to chant both day and night as long as the coffin remained in the house. Nearly two hundred guests sat down to the funeral feast. When I asked Lim Chieng-cua why so much money was spent on these final rites, he answered my question, but obliquely. "Many people correct their old parents when they are still alive, saying 'This is old fashioned,' and 'That is no longer done,' but when their parents die they discover how good the old people were to them and wish they were still alive to advise them. People have to give a big funeral for their parents when they die for the sake of face. If they don't, other people will laugh at them. But really, it is the one time that the children can express the respect they feel for these people who have worked for them all their lives. There is no other way to do so."

Lim Chieng-cua and other members of the family credit their present prosperous and respected position in the community to the work of their father, but most of their neighbors have a different explanation. The villagers have made as much of a legend of Lim Hue-lieng, the eldest son, as they have of his father. In purely financial terms the Lims' present income probably did result from the benefits they received when Lim Hue-lieng's career was at its height. Lim Han-ci was only a farmer, after all, but he was a shrewd farmer and knew how to use the things that his eldest son later placed in his way. In another sense Lim Chieng-cua and his family may be right. Lim Han-ci's good judgement and severe honesty brought respect to himself and to his family. Harsh as his training may have been, he taught his children to aim for and achieve standards higher than their neighbors, to accept their responsibility to the community without becoming involved in its squabbles, and above all else to work hard for what they wanted. It was this training that led Lim Hue-lieng to his success in the world outside Peihotien.

8% of the better students will become "teacher's pets" and
171 receive extra attention and tutoring. (Each year the best pupils receive scrolls to be displayed in their homes.) For further contrast, although not relevant in terms of village life, the high school teacher often establishes primary relations with his students to such an extent that his students will continue to send letters advising of their progress to one or two high school teachers and visit them periodically the rest of their lives.

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867 Pre-school children have played together with little regard for sex although some games are sex related and some duties are sex related, i.e., boys copy father and girls, mother. As the children pass through school there is a gradual separation of sexes as girls become very shy and by graduation, talk or play very seldom with boys. Females will not reestablish a free and easy relationship with males until well after age 30. Although the primary schools are coeducational, most junior and senior high schools are distinct for each sex.

Young Adults

882
769 Graduation from grade school marks a significant step in the life cycle, often celebrated with a small party during which the graduation certificate is displayed in the lung t'ing and placed on the ancestral table to inform the ancestors.